

Message Text

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SUBJECT:CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR EDITORIAL ON US-TURKEY
RELATIONSAND WASHINGTON POST JACK ANDERSON COLUMN

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF MAY 19 CSM EDITORIAL ENTITLED
"CARTER AND THE TURKS": BEGIN TEXT:

2. PRESIDENT CARTER HAS A HOST OF FOREIGN POLICY PROBLEMS
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BUT NONE MORE SERIOUS NOW THAN THE QUESTION OF TURKEY'S
WEAKENED ROLE IN NATO. SO FAR HE HAS NOT GIVEN THIS MATTER
TOP PRIORITY. THE PANAMA TREATIES AND THE MIDDLE EAST ARMS
PACKAGE CONSUMED HIS ENERGIES IN CONGRESS. BUT NOW THAT THE
DAY HAS BEEN WON ON THESE ISSUES, IT IS INDISPENSABLE THAT
THE PRESIDENT SIMILARLY PULL OUT ALL STOPS IN AN EFFORT TO
GET CONGRESS TO LIFT THE U.S. ARMS EMBARGO ON TURKEY. NO
LESS IS AT STAKE THAN THE STRENGTH AND STABILITY OF THE
WESTERN ALLIANCE IN THE FACE OF GROWING SOVIET ASSERTIVE-
NESS.

3. IT IS IRONIC THAT AT A TIME WHEN THE RUSSIANS ARE EXPLOITING FRESH OPPORTUNITIES TO EXTEND THEIR INFLUENCE -- IN AFRICA, THE MIDDLE EAST, AFGHANISTAN -- THE U.S. CONGRESS IS HELPING THEM. FOR THAT IN EFFECT IS WHAT IT IS DOING. WASHINGTON'S EUROPEAN ALLIES ALONE SEEM TO UNDERSTAND THAT IF TURKEY IS NOT SOON HELPED TO IMPROVE ITS DETERIORATING

DEFENSES, THE WHOLE SOUTHEASTERN FLANK OF NATO, NOW A STRATEGIC MEDITERRANEAN BUFFER BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE MIDDLE EAST AND BETWEEN EAST AND WEST, WILL BE SOFTENED. ALREADY THE UNITED STATES HAS HAD TO SHUT DOWN SOME OF ITS MILITARY INSTALLATIONS IN TURKEY.

4. TURKISH PRIME MINISTER BULENT ECEVIT DOES NOT GO SO FAR AS TO SUGGEST THAT TURKEY WILL PULL OUT OF THE ALLIANCE. BUT, UNDER GROWING PRESSURES AT HOME, HE IS BEING FORCED TO LOOK TO OTHER ALTERNATIVES IF THE U.S. CONGRESS CONTINUES ITS MYOPIC POLICY. HE HAS TOLD MR. CARTER THAT ANKARA WILL NOT SIGN A JOINT STATEMENT ON NATO'S FUTURE AT THE UPCOMING SUMMIT IN WASHINGTON AND HE HINTS THAT TURKEY WILL REDUCE THE SIZE OF ITS ARMED FORCES (IT NOW HAS THE SECOND-LARGEST STANDING ARMY IN NATO).

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5. THAT MAY SOUND LIKE ARM-TWISTING TO SOME, BUT, IN MR. ECEVIT'S EYES, THINGS LOOK QUITE DIFFERENT. FAILURE OF THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE TO END THE EMBARGO, IMPOSED WHEN TURKISH TROOPS OCCUPIED NORTHERN CYPRUS, HAS HAD SERIOUS REPERCUSSIONS IN TURKEY. MANY TURKS FEEL THAT THEY ARE BEING TREATED LIKE SECOND-CLASS CITIZENS, THAT THE WEST DOES NOT APPRECIATE THEM, AND THEREFORE THAT THEY SHOULD PERHAPS STAND ALL ALONE, BOLSTERING THEIR TIES WITH THE NONALIGNED WORLD AND -- YES -- WITH THE SOVIET UNION.

6. ON THE CYPRUS ISSUE THE TURKS BELIEVE THEY HAVE PUT FORWARD REASONABLE OPENING PROPOSALS. UN SECRETARY-GENERAL KURT WALDHEIM IN FACT TERMED THEM CONCRETE AND SUBSTANTIAL, BUT THE GREEK CYPRIOTS REFUSE TO TALK NOW -- A STANCE ANKARA VIEWS SUSPICIOUSLY AS TIED TO A DESIRE TO KEEP THE PRO-GREEK DEADLOCK IN CONGRESS.

7. WHETHER THESE SUSPICIONS ARE TRUE OR NOT, THE AMERICAN LAWMAKERS CAN BE FAULTED FOR PLAYING POLITICS INSTEAD OF PURSUING PRINCIPLE. IT IS NO SECRET THAT THE PRO-GREEK LOBBY IS HIGHLY ORGANIZED AND COHESIVE. IT HAS INFLUENCE OVER SOME IMPORTANT CONGRESSIONAL POSTS AND ITS FINANCIAL SUPPORT OF DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS ALIKE IS A MATTER OF PUBLIC RECORD.

8. CAN IT BE DOUBTED THAT THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE AND OTHER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS WOULD VIEW THE SIT-

UATION DIFFERENTLY IF, INSTEAD OF THE PRO-GREEK CHORUS, PRO-TURKISH VOICES WERE HEARD IN THE LAND? TO TURKEY'S DISADVANTAGE, THERE ARE FEW SUCH. HENCE PRESIDENT CARTER FACES A TOUGH TASK IN PERSUADING THE LAWMAKERS TO BE RULED BY GOOD SENSE AND PATRIOTISM RATHER THAN THEIR POLITICAL

EMOTIONS. HE MANAGED THIS ADMIRABLY WELL IN THE CASE OF THE MIDEAST ARMS DEAL. FOR THE FIRST TIME THE POWER OF UNCLASSIFIED

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THE JEWISH LOBBY IN THE CONGRESS WAS BROKEN BECAUSE OF A PERCEIVED OVERRIDING NATIONAL INTEREST.

9. THIS MUST BE THE TOUCHSTONE IN THE TURKISH ARMS ISSUE AS WELL. THERE IS NO RATIONALE IN SOUNDING THE ALARM ABOUT THE SOVIET UNION'S INROADS AROUND THE WORLD AND GROWING CHALLENGE TO THE WEST -- WHEN THE WEST ITSELF DOES NOT KEEP ITS HOUSE IN ORDER. END TEXT.

10. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF WASHINGTON POST COLUMN BY JACK ANDERSON DATED MAY 21 ENTITLED "AEGEAN SCAPEGOATING": BEGIN TEXT:

11. FOR AN AMERICAN JOURNALIST, A TRIP THROUGH TURKEY AND GREECE IS NOW AN EXERCISE IN MASOCHISM. EVERYWHERE HE GOES, ON BOTH SIDES OF THE AEGEAN, HE IS DAMNED AND ACCUSED AND WARNED OF DISASTER IF THE UNITED STATES FAILS TO TAKE "PROPER" ACTION TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN.

12. ROUGHLY TRANSLATED, IN ANKARA THIS MEANS "ABANDON THE GREEKS"; IN ATHENS IT MEANS "FLAIL THE TURKS." AFTER TWO WEEKS OF CONSTANT EXPOSURE TO THIS LITANY, REPORTS MY ASSOCIATE JOE SPEAR, IT BECOMES NAUSEATING.

13. IT IS A FACT THAT THE JOHNSON AND NIXON ADMINISTRATIONS SUPPORTED A REPRESSIVE MILITARY JUNTA IN GREECE FOR SEVEN YEARS. IT IS A FACT THAT HENRY KISSINGER ENGINEERED A TILT TOWARD THE TURKS DURING AND AFTER THEIR INVASION OF CYPRUS IN 1974. AND IT IS EQUALLY TRUE THAT CONGRESS REACTED BY SLAPPING AN ARMS EMBARGO ON TURKEY.

14. BUT THE UNITED STATES DID NOT INSTIGATE THE FEUD BETWEEN THESE LIKEABLE PEOPLE. AND THEY SIMPLY WILL NOT -- PERHAPS THEY INNATELY CANNOT -- ENTERTAIN THE IDEA THAT THEY, THEMSELVES, HAVE SOMETHING TO DO WITH THEIR OWN FATES. "EXTERNAL FORCES" ARE RESPONSIBLE; AND IN THIS ERA OF ANTI-AMERICANSIM, THE PRESIDENT, CONGRESS AND, ABOVE

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ALL, THE CIA HAVE BECOME THE SCAPEGOATS.

15. TURKEY, FOR EXAMPLE, IS CURRENTLY PLAGUED WITH A WAVE OF VIOLENCE IN THE STREETS. EXTREME FACTIONS OF THE LEFT AND RIGHT ARE SHOOTING AND BOMBING EACH OTHER WITH ABANDON, AND WELL OVER 100 TURKS HAVE BEEN KILLED THIS YEAR.

16. AN OCCASIONAL TURK WILL ADMIT THAT THE PROBLEM HAS

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ROOTS. MORE TYPICAL ARE THE OPINIONS OF TWO PROMINENT JOURNALISTS, WHO CHARGED THAT THE CIA IS BEHIND THE VIOLENCE. THE GREEKS BELIEVE WITH EQUAL PASSION THAT THEY ARE THE VICTIMS OF A MYSTERIOUS AND PERNICIOUS PLOT COOKED UP BY THE CIA IN CAHOOTS WITH TURKEY.

17. THE TURKS AND THE GREEKS MOREOVER, REFUSE TO RECOGNIZE THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS ITS OWN INTERESTS TO PROTECT. EACH MOVE BY WASHINGTON IS JUDGED SOLELY BY HOW ONE SIDE PERCEIVES IT WILL AFFECT THE OTHER. OBJECTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE IMPORTANT ISSUES IN ANKARA AND ATHENS IS ALL TOO RARE. EMOTIONS RULE THE DAY. WHEN TURKS OR GREEKS SPEAK ABOUT EVENTS, THEY USUALLY DESCRIBE THEM IN TERMS OF THEIR FEELINGS.

18. A HIGH-LEVEL OFFICIAL IN THE TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTRY, FOR INSTANCE, SAID THE U.S. ARMS EMBARGO CAME AS A "BAD SHOCK" TO THE TURKS. "WE ARE A SENTIMENTAL PEOPLE," HE SAID, AND TURKEY'S RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES HAD BEEN AN "UNREQUITED LOVE AFFAIR."

19. SIMILARLY, THE GREEKS ARE DEEPLY HURT BY CARTER'S EF-
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FORTS TO END THE EMBARGO AGAINST TURKEY. "AMERICANS AND GREEK ARE BROTHERS," SAID PANAYIOTIS PAPALIGOURAS, WHO RETIRED AS THE FOREIGN MINISTER A FEW DAYS AGO. "IT IS A FAMILY FIGHT. UNFORTUNATELY, THESE ARE SOMETIMES THE WORST KIND OF FIGHTS."

20. THE UNITED STATES EVEN HOLDS THE KEY, SOME BELIEVE, TO THE AEGEAN CRISIS. FOLLOWING THE TURKISH INVASION OF CYPRUS, THE GREEKS HEAVILY FORTIFIED THEIR AEGEAN ISLANDS, SOME OF WHICH LIE ONLY A FEWMILES FROM THE TURKISH MAINLAND. MEANWHILE, THE TURKS ORGANIZED A 60,000-MAN "AEGEAN ARMY," ARMED WITH HELICOPTERS AND WELL OVER 100 LANDING CRAFT, AND STATIONED IT ON THE COAST OPPOSITE THE GREEK ISLANDS. THE TURKS HAVE ALSO CLAIMED RIGHTS TO A SHARE OF THE MINERALS THAT LIE BENEATH THE AEGEAN AND HAVE ATTEMPTED TO ASSERT CONTROL OVER HALF OF THE AEGEAN AIRSPACE. THE TURKS WOULD QUICKLY ABANDON THEIR "EXPANSIONIST IDEAS," SAID SEVERAL GREEKS, IF THE UNITED STATES WOULD GET TOUGH WITH ANKARA.

21. EVENTUALLY, THERE ARISES THE NAGGING SUSPICION THAT FLAGELLATION OF THE UNITED STATES HAS BECOME A HANDY POLITICAL TOOL.

22. IN ATHENS, TO CITE JUST ONE PIECE OF EVIDENCE, THE GREEK MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT HAS BEEN AGITATING FOR A

RETURN TO NATO, FROM WHICH THEY WITHDREW THEIR FORCES IN 1974. BUT, ACCORDING TO ONE SECRET U.S. INTELLIGENCE REPORT FROM ATHENS, "THE GREEK LEADERSHIP ... BELIEVES THAT PUBLIC OPINION AND THE INTERNAL POLITICAL SITUATION WILL NOT PERMIT A RE-ENTRY UNDER EXISTING CIRCUMSTANCES." THEY WANT TO GET BACK INTO NATO ON A "DE FACTO" BASIS WITHOUT UNCLASSIFIED

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TAKING THE "POLITICALLY DANGEROUS STEP OF FORMALLY ANNOUNCING" IT, THUS GIVING GREECE "THE BEST OF TWO WORLDS."

23. TURKEY HAS ITS SHARE OF DEMAGOGUES WHO EAGERLY EXCORIATE THE UNITED STATES. ECEVIT HAS GENERALLY AVOIDED SUCH TACTICS, BUT EVEN HE CAN STOMP WASHINGTON WITH VIGOR WHEN IT IS EXPEDIENT. IN A RECENT CABLE, STAMPED "CONFIDENTIAL," RONALD SPIERS, THE U.S. AMBASSADOR TO TURKEY, PONDERED A CHAUVINISTIC SPEECH BY ECEVIT AND WONDERED WHY HE HAD ENGAGED IN "MINDLESS NATIONALISM."

24. "THE DANGER," CONCLUDED SPIERS, "IS THAT HE MAY SO ENJOY THE POPULAR ACCLAIM THAT COMES FROM TALKING BACK TO AMERICANS, THAT HE WILL CONTINUE IT..." END TEXT. VANCE

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